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# Suppressed Emotions: The Heroic *Tristia* of Portuguese (ex-)Jesuit, Emanuel de Azevedo

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## Abstract

This article is a pilot for a larger project on the emotions of the suppression of the Society of Jesus, viewed through the prism of Latin writings by Jesuits of the period. It proposes a case study of Portuguese (ex-)Jesuit, Emanuel de Azevedo, who lived and suffered internal exile in Italy (from Rome to the Veneto) in the second half of the eighteenth century. Azevedo composed a large quantity of Latin verse during these unhappy years, from a four-book epic poem on the return of the Jesuits expelled from the American colonies to a twelve-book description of the city of Venice. The main focus here is Azevedo's collection of Latin verse epistles, *Epistolae ad heroas* (Venice, 1781), loosely modeled on Ovid. Azevedo writes Latin verse both to temper his own sadness about the suppression and to console Spanish, Portuguese, and American confrères living in exile in the Papal States and in Russia under Catherine the Great.

## Keywords

suppression of the Society of Jesus – Emanuel de Azevedo – history of emotions – neo-Latin poetry – Ovid – Jesuit education – New World – consolation – Giulio Cesare Cordara – Catherine the Great

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During waves of expulsion from Portugal, France, Spain, and their overseas territories, from 1759 through to the suppression of the Old Society by Pope Clement XIV in 1773, Jesuits were exposed to intensifying ridicule of their religious positions, their way of proceeding at home and abroad, and even of their enviable educational system. For the two centuries leading up to the suppression, the Society of Jesus had contributed conspicuously to European science, art, music, literature, and theatre. Along with the order, the Latin humanist education that had prevailed in Europe since the Renaissance took a serious body blow in the final decades of the eighteenth century. Jesuits had been the target of satire and opprobrium from their inception, of course, and not exclusively in Protestant countries, but the avalanche of anti-*Jesuitica* that gathered momentum over the second half of the eighteenth century was unprecedented.<sup>1</sup> In French pamphlets of the period, Jesuits were portrayed as conspirators and regicides (later, ironically, counter-revolutionaries), profiteering hypocrites, devil-worshippers and corrupters of youth, who get their comeuppance falling off towers, passing through sieves of true piety, and tumbling to hell to be welcomed by demons. More sympathetic engravings show groups of humiliated, distraught, sometimes frail and elderly, priests, assembling at ports before embarking for exile.<sup>2</sup>

While there has been an efflorescence of historical studies of the suppression in recent years, especially from national and/or colonial perspectives,<sup>3</sup>

1 Sabina Pavone, *The Wily Jesuits and the Monita Secreta: The Forged Secret Instructions of the Jesuits: Myth and Reality*, trans. John P. Murphy, S.J. (Saint Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005); Christine Vogel, *Der Untergang der Gesellschaft Jesu als europäisches Medienereignis (1758–1773): Publizistische Debatten im Spannungsfeld von Aufklärung und Gegenaufklärung* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2006).

2 See Rolf Reichardt, “L’imaginaire social des jésuites bannis et expulsés (1758–1773): Aux origines de la polarization idéologique entre Lumières et anti-Lumières,” in *Los jesuitas españoles expulsos. Su imagen y su contribución al saber sobre el mundo hispánico en la Europa del siglo XVIII*, eds. Manfred Tietz and Dietrich Briesemeister (Madrid-Frankfurt am Main: Universidad Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2001), 473–525; Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire, eds., *Les antijésuites. Discours, figures et lieux de l’antijésuitisme à l’époque moderne* (Rennes: Presses Universitaire de Rennes, 2010).

3 In addition to Tietz and Briesemeister, *Los jesuitas españoles expulsos*, the older studies of Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, *Los jesuitas quiteños del extrañamiento. Introducción, selección y traducciones latinas e italianas* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2010 [Puebla: Cajica, 1960]), and Miguel Batllori, *La cultura hispano-italiana de los jesuitas expulsos: españoles, hispanoamericanos, filipinos, 1767–1814* (Madrid: Gredos, 1966), see Antonio Trampus, *I gesuiti e l’Illuminismo. Politica e religione in Austria e nell’Europa centrale (1773–1798)* (Florence: Olschki, 2000); Enrique Giménez López, ed., *Y en tercero perecerán. Gloria, caída y exilio de los jesuitas españoles en el s. XVIII* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2002); Niccolò Guasti, *Lesilio italiano dei gesuiti spagnoli: Identità, controllo sociale, e pratiche culturali 1767–1798*

there has been relatively little work devoted systematically and synoptically to the emotional impact on Jesuits living through these turbulent times, and to how they managed, individually and collectively, their changing religious identities, scholarly careers, and mental health.<sup>4</sup> In the larger team project of which this paper represents a tentative first step, we hope to consider the twilight of the Old Society of Jesus through a unique and highly revealing prism: that of the Jesuits' literary production, especially in Latin, over the period leading up to, during, and immediately after the suppression.<sup>5</sup> Via a series of case studies of Jesuit writers anticipating or living through the long era of the suppression, mainly in Italy, but also in Germany, Austria, and Eastern Europe, we aim to build up a much more comprehensive picture than hitherto available of their literary works and networks, and of the emotional freight these conveyed in different times and places.

Scarcely the tip of the mountain of Jesuit Latin writing that survives from this period has been explored, which is perhaps symptomatic of a lingering prejudice against later neo-Latin writing *tout court*.<sup>6</sup> Yet neo-Latin writings are rich sources for historians of emotion, and Jesuit neo-Latin writings for historians of the emotions of the suppression. Not only could Latin be the vehicle for articulating sincere and complex emotions, belying the frequent association of "epilinguistic" idioms with cerebrality, impersonality, and stereotypicality, but,

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(Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2006); Antonio Astorgano Abajo, *La literatura de los jesuitas vascos expulsos (1767–1815)* (Madrid: Delegación en Corte, Departamento de Publicaciones, 2009); José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, *Expulsión y extinción de los jesuitas (1759–1773)* (Bilbao: Mensajero, 2013); Ugo Baldini and Gian Paolo Brizzi, eds., *La presenza in Italia dei gesuiti iberici espulsi. Aspetti religiosi, politici, culturali* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2010); Sabina Pavone, *Una strana alleanza. La Compagnia di Gesù in Russia dal 1772 al 1820* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 2010); Maurice Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education. Expulsion, Suppression, Survival and Restoration, 1762–1803* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright, eds., *Jesuit Survival and Restoration. A Global History* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Jeffrey Burson and Jonathan Wright, eds., *The Jesuit Expulsion: Causes, Events, and Consequences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

4 See María Susana Cipoletti, "Fruto de melancolía, restos del naufragio: el Alto Amazonas en los escritos de los jesuitas expulsos," in *Jesuitas españoles expulsos*, 237–64; Martín Morales, "Riflessioni su un corpo malinconico. Esempi di scritture dall'esilio," in *Presenza in Italia*, 391–409.

5 In collaboration with scholars from the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies (Innsbruck).

6 In her pioneering anthology of Jesuit Latin poetry, for example, the late Andrée Thill did not include works published after 1730, holding that "neo-Latin poetry in general and that of the Jesuits in particular [...] entered a period of decadence after the golden age of the 17<sup>th</sup> century." Andrée Thill and Gilles Banderier, *La lyre jésuite: Anthologie de poèmes latins (1620–1730)* (Geneva: Droz, 1999), 7.

I venture, precisely by exploiting the genres and tropes of ancient literature, eighteenth-century Jesuit writers found the tools to express and manage their “modern” emotions with as much authenticity as, and perhaps even more precision and subtlety than, when they wrote in the vernacular.

In addition to letters, diaries, and histories, we find long Latin scientific poems, demonstrating Enlightenment values; highly affective devotional pieces; mournful elegies; satires; and nostalgic epics, celebrating a heroic past of missionaries and martyrs. Aside from what these works report explicitly and convey implicitly about the emotional experience of subjects of the suppression—from outrage, melancholy, and despair to nostalgia, pride, and hope—the very fact of their being written in Latin demands to be considered from the perspective of the history of emotions. The Latin language was freighted with corporate memory, since each and every Jesuit was, at some point in his career, not only obliged to teach in the Society’s humanist schools but to compose Latin verse. As the early modern Society began to fracture in the second half of the eighteenth century and to face challenges to its Latin humanist education, what degree of emotional investment did its members have in conserving and perpetuating their long Latin literary traditions?<sup>7</sup>

It is well known that in France especially, the secondary education offered in Jesuit colleges—rooted in creative imitation of the ancient classics—came under increasing attack from the *philosophes*.<sup>8</sup> If Voltaire (1694–1778) and Jean-Baptiste le Rond d’Alembert (1717–1783) expressed belated dismay at the violence of the anti-Jesuit genie they had helped let out of the bottle, Frederick II’s (r. 1740–1786) teasing response, in May 1774, to a letter from d’Alembert, reveals the depths of the latter’s rancor:

“Does such bile have a place in the heart of the true sage?,” the poor Jesuits would exclaim if they knew how you express yourself about them

7 See e.g. Marc Laureys, “Latin as Language of the Blessed: Melchior Inchofer on the Excellence and Dignity of the Latin Language,” in *Germania Latina – Latinitas Teutonica: Politik, Wissenschaft, humanistische Kultur von späten Mittelalter bis in unsere Zeit*, eds. Eckhard Kessler and Heinrich C. Kuhn (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2003), 65–78.

8 Catherine M. Northeast, *The Parisian Jesuits and the Enlightenment: 1700–1762* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1991); Yasmin Haskell, “The Passion(s) of Jesuit Latin,” in *Brill’s Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World: Macropaedia*, eds. Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, and Charles Fantazzi (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 775–78. On Jesuit education in this period, see also Paolo Bianchini, *Educazione, cultura e politica nell’età dei Lumi. I gesuiti e l’insegnamento dopo la soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù* (Turin: Libreria Stampatori, 2001) and Bianchini, ed., *Morte e resurrezione di un ordine religioso: le strategie culturali ed educative della Compagnia di Gesù durante la soppressione, 1759–1814* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2006).

in your letter. I did not protect them at all when they were powerful. In their adversity I see them only as men of letters who would be very difficult to replace for the education of our youth. It's for this precious end that I find them necessary—since of all the Catholic clergy in our country they are the only ones who apply themselves to letters.<sup>9</sup>

But to what extent did this Latin humanist education of the Jesuits serve as a life-raft for them during the period of the suppression—not just in the most obvious sense that it afforded them a *living* in the territories of Frederick II and Catherine the Great (r. 1662–1796), as teachers of Latin literature, but also as a vehicle for expressing their feelings, both to one another and to a wider Republic of (Latin) Letters? Was humanist Latin cultivated consciously by suppression Jesuits as a point of pride and solidarity, if not of Jesuit distinctiveness?

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During the roughly thirty-year period 1759–1789 which is our focus, many ex- and exiled Jesuits wrote Latin letters, prose diaries, or “histories” of their own and their order’s troubles. The most famous of these, no doubt, is Giulio Cesare Cordara’s (1704–1785) *Notes on the Suppression*.<sup>10</sup> Like Cordara’s, José Caeiro’s, S.J. (1712–1791) *De exilio provinciarum transmarinarum assistentiae Lusitanae Societatis Jesu* [On the exile of the ultramarine provinces of the Lusitanian assistancy of the Society of Jesus] was not printed until the

9 My translation from Max Lehmann, *Preussen und die Katholische Kirche seit 1640. Nach den Akten des Geheimen Staatsarchives* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1883), 4:603. For a contemporary assessment of d’Alembert’s entrenched, and Voltaire’s inconsistent, opposition to modern literary Latin, see Yasmin Haskell, *Prescribing Ovid: The Latin Works and Networks of the Enlightened Dr Heerkens* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 85–9.

10 Available in the modern English edition: Giulio Cesare Cordara, *On the Suppression of the Society of Jesus. A Contemporary Account*, trans. John P. Murphy, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1999); see also *Julii Cordarae de suppressione Societatis Jesu commentarii*, ed. Giuseppe Albertotti (Padua: Stabilimento Tipografico Penada, 1925); Giuseppe Albertotti and Agostino Faggioto, eds., *Julii Cordarae de suis ac suorum rebus aliisque suorum temporum usque ad occasum Societatis Jesu commentarii ad Franciscum fratrem, comitem Calamandranae* (Turin: Tipografia degli Artigianelli, 1933); Michela Catto, “La historiografía de Giulio Cesare Cordara. La necesaria continuidad de la historia de una orden religiosa: la Compañía de Jesús,” in *Del Ars histórica a la Monumenta histórica: la historia restaurada*, eds. Perla Chinchilla, Alfonso Mendiola Mejía, and Martín María Morales (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2014), 95–123.

twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> Although he was not one of their number, Caeiro represents the experience of the Jesuits returning to Italy from Brazil, Maranhão, and Goa as if he were a witness to events as they unfolded.<sup>12</sup> In some places, he even gives the impression of “channeling” the unmediated emotional experience of his confrères. Yet the rhetorical aspects of his “history”—and also, for that matter, Cordara’s—have not, I think, been adequately explored, nor the significance of their being written in Latin.<sup>13</sup> While Latin writing could still anticipate an international public in this period, it could also be used to target more circumscribed and intimate audiences.<sup>14</sup>

As for Latin *poetry*, Florian Schaffenrath has made preliminary soundings of a Latin epic written by a former Jesuit living in Russia, Nikodemus Musnicki, *De Christi ab inferis reditu* [On Christ’s return from hell] (1805), an allegory for the death/suppression of the Jesuit order that looks hopefully to its resurrection.<sup>15</sup> While not all Jesuit poetry written by suppression-era Jesuits was expressly about the suppression, I suspect that much of it would repay more thorough examination for, as it were, “suppressed” emotions. From the middle

- 11 José Caeiro, S.J., *Os jesuítas do Brasil e da Índia na perseguição do Marques de Pombal* (Baía: Escola Tipografia Salesiana, 1936); Caeiro, *História da expulsão da Companhia de Jesus das províncias ultramarinas da assistência de Portugal (séc. XVIII)* (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 2005). Caeiro also wrote an account of the exile of the Jesuits from Portugal: *História da expulsão da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Portugal (Séc. XVIII)*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1991–99).
- 12 The observation is Sabina Pavone’s. I am grateful to Professor Pavone for bringing the manuscript of Caeiro to my attention at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [hereafter ARSI], *Lus* 94–11.
- 13 The *diario del destierro* of Argentinian exiled Jesuit, José Peramas, exists in both Latin and Spanish versions. See Marcela Suárez, “Peramás y la doble redacción sobre el exilio jesuítico,” in *Debates en Lenguas Clásicas*, vol. 2, *Cultura*, ed. Alicia Schniebs (Buenos Aires: Libros de Filo, 2010), 151–75; and Suárez, “La literatura neolatina del siglo XVIII y el exilio: la obra de Rafael Landívar y José Peramas”: [http://www.bn.gov.ar/descargas/pnbc/estudios/pnbc\\_estudio7\\_landivar\\_peramas.pdf](http://www.bn.gov.ar/descargas/pnbc/estudios/pnbc_estudio7_landivar_peramas.pdf) [accessed on August 24, 2015].
- 14 As I have argued, e.g., for the (Jesuit-educated) Dutch physician, Latin poet, and Grand Tourist, G.N. Heerkens, in Haskell, *Prescribing Ovid*, in particular ch. 3 and ch. 4. Heerkens visited Cordara in Rome in 1759.
- 15 Florian Schaffenrath, “Das Höllenfahrtsepos *De Christi ab inferis reditu* (1805) des Nikodemus Musnicki SJ,” in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 2:943–53; Schaffenrath, “Unedierte lateinische Jesuitenepik aus dem Fondo Gesuitico der Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma,” *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 9 (2007): 328–42. Musnicki also composed a “History of the Society of Jesus from the time of its abolition,” the manuscript of which was once held in Polock. See Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols. (Brussels-Paris: Schepens-Picard, 1890–1932), 5:1469.

of the eighteenth century, Jesuit poets in Italy produced long Latin scientific poems on subjects from acoustics to eclipses to electricity, effectively demonstrating Enlightenment values to one another and to the wider Republic of Letters. The 1760s, it seems, was the most fertile decade for the publication of such Lucretian-style scientific poems in Italy, the very years in which the suppression was unfolding across Portugal, France, and Spain.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that the construction of a timeless cosmic “sublime” by these Jesuit poets, nearly all based at the Collegio Romano, was in part a response to—or perhaps an escape from—troubling events transpiring on a more worldly plane. Giuseppe Maria Mazzolari (1712–1786), professor of rhetoric at the Roman College, devoted much of the final book of his six-book Latin poem on electricity, *Electrica* (Rome, 1767), to celebrating the humanistic and scientific achievements of his Italian Jesuit brothers on the eve of the suppression.

But while Mazzolari and his Croatian *confratello*, Bernardo Zamagna [Zamanja, S.J.] (1735–1820), were champions of the continued use of Latin in the *respublica litterarum*,<sup>17</sup> it should not be assumed that suppression Jesuits were universally Latin-inclined—or, at least, inclined to a universal Latin. The Latin writing of Jesuits of this period must always be weighed against their vernacular compositions and literary translations—a genre in which many were also prolific—and their commitment to their various “national” literatures.<sup>18</sup> Be that as it may, some of the most enduring works by eighteenth-century New Spanish writers were published in Latin when their Jesuit authors fetched up in Italy after their expulsion from the Iberian colonies.<sup>19</sup> Two of the

16 Yasmin Haskell, *Loyola's Bees: Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry* (Oxford: British Academy-Oxford University Press, 2003), 178–244.

17 Zamagna praises his Lucretian-poem-writing compatriot, Benedict Stay, for cleaving to Latin, the language which Europe “at last grown tired at so varied a medley of languages, both requires and searches for uselessly” (*The Croatian Muses in Latin: A Trilingual Anthology Latin-English-Croatian*, ed. Vladimir Vratović, trans. Alexander Douglas Hoyt and Neven Jovanović (Zagreb: Most-The Bridge, 1998), 160–3).

18 In the eastern part of the Habsburg monarchy (modern Hungary, Slovakia, and Croatia) Jesuits fragmented into different networks with sometimes opposing agendas, a topic to be explored by Lav Subaric. While many ex-Jesuits remained “loyal” to Latin, others embraced the new ethnolinguistic Hungarian identity and the associated program of nationalization and de-Latinization of culture and society; others still became propagandists of enlightened absolutism and Germanization.

19 See Andrew Laird, *The Epic of America: An Introduction to Rafael Landívar and the Rusticatio Mexicana* (London: Duckworth, 2006); Laird, “Patriotism and the Rise of Latin in Eighteenth-century New Spain: Disputes of the New World and the Jesuit Construction of a Mexican Legacy,” *Renaissanceforum* 8 (2012): 231–61; Maya Feile Tones, “News of a Hitherto Unknown Neo-Latin Columbus Epic, Part I. José Manuel Peramás's *De Invento*



best known are Rafael Landívar's (1731–1793) fifteen-book epic-didactic poem on the nature and culture of Mexico, *Rusticatio Mexicana* [Mexican country life] ([Modena, 1781], Bologna, 1782), a sort of love-letter to his lost homeland, and Diego José Abad's (1727–1779) massive philosophical-theological epic, *De Deo Deoque homine* [On God and the God-Man] (definitive version, Cesena, 1780), which was much admired by his contemporaries.<sup>20</sup> The prodigious Latinity of the Mexicans seems to have sparked off something of a turf war between Italian Jesuit poet and critic, Giambattista Roberti (1719–1786), and Diego José Abad, who defended the supposedly defective Mexican Jesuit Latin against that of their Italian brethren.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, former Jesuits from Old Spain were moved to defend the honor of *their* national Latinity by citing ancient Roman writers of Spanish descent, such as Seneca and Lucan.<sup>22</sup> Yet while much exciting new work is underway on the literary output of Spanish and Spanish American exiles, the Portuguese and Brazilian dimension seems to have been less thoroughly explored to date.<sup>23</sup>

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- Novo Orbe inductoque illuc Christi sacrificio* (1777). Part 1," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 22, no. 1 (2015): 1–28, and "Part 2," published online August 2015: <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs12138-015-0374-2>; Desirée Arbo and Andrew Laird, "Columbus, the Lily of Quito, and the Black Legend: the Context of José Manuel Peramas' Epic on the Discovery of the New World: *De invento Novo Orbe inductoque illuc Christi sacrificio* (1777)," *Dieciocho: Hispanic Enlightenment* 38, no. 1 (2015): 7–32.
- 20 On Landívar see Laird, *The Epic of America*; on Abad, see Arnold Kerson, "Enlightened Thought in Diego Jose Abad's *De Deo Deoque homine heroico*," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani. Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, eds. Stella P. Revard, Fidel Rädle, and Mario di Cesare (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1988), 617–23.
- 21 See Arnold Kerson, "Diego José Abad, *Dissertatio Ludicro-Seria*," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 40 (1991): 357–422.
- 22 See Alejandro Coroleu, "Neo-Latin Literature–Spain: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, 1114–16.
- 23 On José Basílio da Gama's [?] unpublished Latin poem on the goldmines of Minas Gerais, see Alexandra Brito de Mariano, "New World 'Ethiopians': Slavery and Mining in Early Modern Brazil through Latin Eyes," in *Latinity and Alterity in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Yasmin Haskell and Juanita Ruys (Tempe, AZ: MRTS, 2010), 201–20. Da Gama is of course better known as composer of a Portuguese poem on the Guaraní war, *O Uruguai* (1769). See Wiebke Röben de Alecar Xavier, "José Basílio da Gama's Epic Poem (1769): An Intellectual Dispute about the Jesuit State of Paraguay," in *Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas: Intercultural Transfers, Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities*, eds. Marc André Bernier, Clorinda Donato, and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 189–218.

So I come, finally, to the Portuguese, Emanuel de Azevedo.<sup>24</sup> One of only a few Jesuits admitted to the familiar circle of the enlightened Lambertini pontiff, Benedict XIV (r. 1740–1758), Azevedo was born in 1713 into a noble family in Coimbra.<sup>25</sup> He entered the Society in 1728. While still a novice he produced a short treatise on the examination of conscience that pleased his Jesuit teachers so much they had it (re-)printed for the use of students in Évora and Lisbon.<sup>26</sup> From 1736, he taught Latin, then rhetoric and humanities, at the college of St. Antony in Lisbon, where he composed a Latin play that was performed in front of King John V (r. 1706–1750). The public *conclusiones* he presented with his students as professor of rhetoric at the College of Évora, from 1739 to 1741, were published in forty-eight folio pages as *Poeticae facultatis amphitheatrum* (1740) and evince an exuberant late baroque ingenuity.<sup>27</sup> Azevedo was then called to Rome by the Jesuit superior general, Franz Retz (1673–1750), where, from 1742 he continued his theological studies and quickly made an impression for his learning and talents. Enjoying the admiration and favor of the pope, whose collected works he meticulously edited, Azevedo was set for a brilliant ecclesiastical career. I set aside here his considerable output of pious, and especially liturgical, works, but will mention his verse *Fasti Antoniani* in which the life of St. Anthony of Padua is fitted to an Ovidian

24 I am embarking on a book-length study of Azevedo and his poetic works in Latin, provisionally titled: “Versifying Adversity: Emanuel de Azevedo and the Suppression of the Society of Jesus.” I propose to set his verse epistles at the centre of a literary and emotional biography that will illustrate how the writing of Latin poetry enabled the expression both of immediate and individual, but also longer and *collective*, emotional responses to the suppression.

25 Bio-bibliographical sketches in Ramon Diosdado Caballero, *Bibliothecae scriptorum Societatis Jesu supplementa. Supplementum primum*, vol. 1 (Rome: Bourliè, 1814), 88–90; João Bautista Castro, *Mappa de Portugal antigo e moderno*, vol. 4 (Lisbon: Miguel Manescal da Costa, 1749), unnumbered prologue; Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca lusitana*, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Ignacio Rodrigues, 1754), 184–6. There are two anonymous contemporary lives preserved in ARSI, *Vitae* 155, ff. 54<sup>r</sup>–61<sup>v</sup>; ARSI, *FG* 684–29, ff. 1–2. Especially for Azevedo’s liturgical writings and editorial activity, see Carlos Cabecinhas, “A ciência litúrgica como disciplina universitária: Manuel de Azevedo, S.J. (1713–1796), e as primeiras cátedras de ciência litúrgica,” *Didaskalia* 40 no. 2 (2010): 113–34, and Cabecinhas, “Manuel de Azevedo, S.J. – um ilustre exilado (1713–1796),” *Brotéria* 169 (2009): 337–47.

26 Caballero, *Bibliothecae*, 88.

27 This work was supplemented and republished as *Ars poetica*, 2 vols. (Venice: Haeredes Costantini, 1781) and dedicated to Catherine the Great.

framework.<sup>28</sup> It was composed after Azevedo was exiled from Rome to the Veneto.<sup>29</sup>

Azevedo's career evidently took a turn for the worse during the years leading up to the suppression. Cordara has left us a tantalizing vignette of the man at the end of the sixth book of his *De suis ac suorum rebus usque ad occasum Societatis Jesu commentarii*:

Besides these there was a Portuguese, Azevedo, who was very much in the pope's good books, for various reasons but especially because he had taken great care to publish [Benedict's] works, no less sumptuously than elegantly, at his own expense. For Azevedo was extremely rich and influential in the city, and he was also a good sort, not good-looking, with almost no sophistication in his manner, completely unconcerned with his dress and appearance, but for some reason so hated by Jesuits of his own nation that, through a covert conspiracy, they brought it about that he, even though he was one of the few admitted to the pope's inner circle, was nevertheless ordered by the pope to leave the city as an exile, at the behest of the king of Portugal.<sup>30</sup>

In 1780, Azevedo published a verse description of Venice in twelve books.<sup>31</sup> The liminary verses to that poem suggest it was composed around 1760, but that

28 Six books in 1786 (Venice: Sebastiano Colletti, 1786); twelve in 1793 (Venice: Sebastiano Valle, 1793). The expanded edition was accompanied by an abridgement of Azevedo's prose life of the saint in Italian, a work of original scholarship destined to become something of a bestseller: *Vita del taumaturgo portoghese Sant'Antonio di Padova arricchita di nuove notizie, e critiche osservazioni* (Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1788).

29 According to Cabehinhas, "Manuel de Azevedo," 343, he was exiled from Rome in 1754 at the behest of the Marquis of Pombal for supporting the Jacobite movement.

30 My translation from the Latin. See *Lettere di Giulio Cesare Cordara a Francesco Cancellieri (1772–1785) pubblicate sugli autografi del Museo Britannico con estratti dai "commentarii" e bibliografia cordariana*, ed. Giuseppe Albertotti, vol. 1 (Modena: Società tipografica modenese, 1912–16).

31 [Emanuel de Azevedo], *Venetae urbis descriptio a Nicandro Jasseo P. A.* (Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1780). "Nicander Jasseus" was Azevedo's Arcadian name. This work is praised already in the catalogue of (mainly Italian) Jesuit writers towards the end of Giuseppe Maria Mazzolari, *Electricorum libri vi* (Rome: Generosus Salomoni, 1767), 232 and note. Girolamo Lagomarsini, S.J., who furnished the notes to Mazzolari's poem, explains that Azevedo had employed the conceit of a tour by gondola to show his readers the sites. The poem, Lagomarsini suggests, is a remarkable achievement in spite of some stylistic defects.

publication was deferred for some twenty years. In the same year, Azevedo published a selection of Latin translations from Italian sonnets.<sup>32</sup> The Italian note to the reader of this volume is very revealing:

A certain person<sup>33</sup> in whom literary taste and kindness of spirit are marvelously matched persuaded me, and I could say, almost *forced* me to render into Latin verse some of the more celebrated Italian sonnets, making clear to me that he needed them to be done, and with great care. This pressure, however, was nothing but an invention of his and emblematic of his most heartfelt friendship. Nearly ten years had passed since I was engaged in affairs very different from those which beckon one to the pleasant pursuits of the Muses and Parnassus; when my heart was struck by the bitter misfortunes of some of my dearest friends, I found myself overwhelmed by great afflictions and vexed by very painful thoughts. I applied myself to serious studies, to composing some dissertations and to the reading of learned books, to distract my afflicted mind—since the help of my friends proved futile—but in vain. He knew that for the saints a quarter of an hour of mental prayer was enough to restore serenity to the soul. He knew that the moral philosophers prescribed other remedies to calm it—but not all medicines are suited to all temperaments. I therefore tried to occupy my imagination with Latin verses, and in four months I succeeded in composing eight books of the twelve that comprise my poem in which I describe the famous city of Venice. I cannot pretend that I did not derive some relief from the new activity, but then new misadventures befalling other friends of mine summoned back the suffering of my heart, causing it even more excruciating pain. And so, the same estimable man of letters brought me these sonnets, requesting a translation with such insistence that he sometimes came to visit me three times a day to see whether I had fulfilled his commission, and advising me to make haste.<sup>34</sup>

So far, then, we have seen Azevedo turning to Latin verse to distract himself from painful emotions, presumably of the suppression. We shall find these

32 [Emanuel de Azevedo], *Raccolta di sonetti scelti tradotti in versi esametri latini, da Nicandro Jasseeo, P. A.* (Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1780). According to one of the anonymous biographies in ARSI, this work, “because of the facility and clarity of the translations, was so well received that copies of it became very rare” (ARSI, *Vitae* 155, f. 57<sup>v</sup>) [my translation].

33 Possibly the dedicatee, Girolamo Ascanio Molin.

34 Azevedo, *Raccolta di sonetti*, “Al Lettore,” 5–6 [my translation].

emotions expressed more openly in a volume published in 1789 under the title *Heroum libri 4; Ad heroas epistolae* [Four books of heroic verse; Letters to heroes].<sup>35</sup>

The volume in question, comprising two distinct but related works, is dedicated to General Grigory Potemkin (1739–1791), Catherine the Great's former lover, and her trusted confidante and minister. After a rousing and jubilant verse letter of dedication, thanking the Russians for protecting the Jesuits, Azevedo announces in a candid statement in prose, not quite a formal preface: "The poems I have published [here] may be called books of *Tristia* [Sad things]" (7). He explains that he would never have written or exposed his Latin verses to public scrutiny had he not felt the need to assuage the grief that had oppressed him since hearing of the "expulsion of his Lusitanian brothers from their homeland" (that is, the expulsion of Jesuits from Portuguese territories in 1759). So here, apparently for the first time, Azevedo makes clear the *source* of the painful emotions to which he had adverted in a more roundabout way in his volume of translated sonnets. Is this an indication, perhaps, that the present work(s) was intended as much for an internal Jesuit audience as for the Russian power couple or the wider Republic of Letters? Be that as it may, Azevedo also chooses to disclose in his prefatory note that he has himself suffered displacement, from Rome to Venice, at the instigation of Pombal (Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, 1699–1782). He tells us (again) that he had written a description of that city as his first attempt at poetic self-consolation; that other works were either freshly composed or revived from juvenile notes; and that some were published with uncommon haste to "lull unpleasant cares with more useful ones" (presumably *Ars poetica* and *Fasti Antoniani*). It is, however, the present collection that "deserves the special title of *Tristia* because it concerns an exile and is addressed to exiles."

Given this *prima facie* generic alignment with Ovid, it is somewhat surprising, then, that the printed title of Azevedo's volume is *not Tristia* but rather *Heroum libri* [Heroic books] and *Epistolae ad heroas* [Letters to heroes]. Indeed, the first part of the volume is taken up with a scarcely known four-book epic poem on the return of the Jesuits from the American missions. The second, longer, part comprises twenty-five verse epistles, again to/about exiled Jesuits, written in a mixture of hexameters and elegiacs. The heroic voice thus

35 Emanuel de Azevedo, *Heroum libri iv. Ad heroas epistolae* (Louvain [but Venice]: n.p., 1789). I am grateful to Maya Feile Tomes for first piquing my interest in Azevedo by bringing to my attention an oblique reference to this work ("Un volume di versi in cui si cantano le disavventure della Compagnia di Gesù") in Giuseppe Mazzini, "Gesuiti cileni in Imola 1768–1839," *L'Archiginnasio* 44, no. 6 (1938): 184–211, here 196.

competes on several levels throughout the collection with the elegiac/exilic.<sup>36</sup> Consideration of the epic poem will be deferred to another occasion, but the twenty-five “letters to heroes” are at least as fascinating. They run in date from the 1760s and document the author’s lived experience of the suppression in Italy—although, of course, in their definitive published form they are “delivered” well after the final blow of 1773. The collection as printed is not in strict date order but has been arranged for rhetorical effect. The first letter, dated 1 September 1783, is addressed to Azevedo’s “beloved brothers living in the dominions of the empress of Russia by miraculous Divine Providence.”<sup>37</sup> One might have expected the opening letter to have been penned last, if not first, as an *ex post facto* dedication for the entire collection, but in fact the final three letters (numbers 23–25) are dated 1785, and even these are not arranged in order of original composition.<sup>38</sup>

If the opening poem is not Azevedo’s first- or last-penned letter, nevertheless it cannot fail to set the tone and generic expectations for the collection as a whole. Its opening couplet, “Small book you will go to Hyperborean cities where I, alas, may not go,”<sup>39</sup> immediately establishes the poet’s mournful Ovidian voice, and a nice paradox: Azevedo is in exile *in* Italy writing *to* more fortunate friends in wintry lands (albeit living in cities). He says he would prefer to join his comrades in those regions where an “ample harvest of great men” is at hand, but he is “too old for such immense labors, having already completed forty-five years” (!). This retrospectively programmatic letter, like many in the collection, is both lamenting and triumphant. The poet mobilizes

36 There is a telling parallel for this alternation of heroic and elegiac modes and moods in an elegy, “To my extinguished Society” (1799), by the former Austrian Jesuit, Michael Denis. See Elisabeth Klecker and Eva Taranová, “Vergilrezeption als Ausdruck jesuitischen Gottvertrauens. Michael Denis, *Extinctae Societati meae*,” in *Aurora Musas nutrit. Die Jesuiten und die Kultur Mitteleuropas im 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Ladislav Kačic and Svorad Zavorský (Bratislava: Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV-Teologická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity, 2008), 113–24.

37 The second letter, a panegyric of Catherine, might better be described as a “forward.” It is also addressed to the “beloved brothers” in Russia but has been repurposed from the dedication of Azevedo’s *Ars poetica* (1781).

38 It is interesting to note that the majority of the letters are dated the Kalends of their given month. Was this a *post hoc* fix by Azevedo because he could not recall their exact dates of composition; or, does the recurring date, the first of the month, suggest that the writing of these letters was a self-imposed exercise in diary-keeping, overdetermined, perhaps, by deeper Jesuit instincts for letter-writing and examination of conscience?

39 “Parvus Hyperboreas sine me, liber, ibis in urbes / Hei mihi! Quo domino non licet ire tuo” (Azevedo, *Heroum*, 117). See Ovid, *Tristia* 1. 1. 1–2: “Parue—nec inuideo—sine me, liber, ibis in urbem: / ei mihi, quod domino non licet ire tuo!”

a nautical metaphor for the fate of the Society that will be a recurrent motif: “A kindly right hand spared you the communal shipwreck and kept your small boat afloat.”<sup>40</sup> It at once recalls Ovid’s *singular* journey into exile but also the epic sea journeys of Jesuits, past and present, and, of course, Azevedo’s own heroic poem on the returning American Jesuits. In another letter (1 December 1768), he memorably describes the exiles from Santa Fe de Bogotá being dispatched from Corsica to Italy in boats so cramped that they resemble pieces of rotting fruit in a basket.<sup>41</sup>

The Ovidian verse-letter form allows Azevedo to express, almost to *confess*, his private suffering in the context of the travails of his brothers in exile. Throughout the collection, the self-deprecating and solipsistic Ovidian persona functions as a mask for concealing/cautiously revealing the Jesuit poet’s personal weakness and sense of spiritual unworthiness; as well as a conduit for the expression of a more righteous collective grievance. Of course, the Ovidian verse epistle had long been a favored form for imitation by Jesuits, especially the *Heroides*.<sup>42</sup> Yet the suppression provided an arguably unparalleled opportunity for the rewriting of Ovid’s letters from exile, the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*. These constitute an obvious template for exploring the emotions of the suppression, with its geographical dislocations, accumulating privations, lingering taint of disgrace, and that unhappy correspondence between the psychic shock of Augustus’s inscrutable banishment of Ovid and the papal *Dominus ac redemptor*. Whether or not Azevedo’s letters ever reached their destinates—or only did so belatedly, in published form—his use of the Ovidian genre will surely have been personally therapeutic. Moreover, in adopting the Ovidian epistolary form, Azevedo was connecting not only with his contemporary confrères, but “virtually” with his order’s literary history, with the poets who had gone before and celebrated its history and its heroes.

It should be noted that Ovid is not the only point of reference in these poems; we find allusions to other classical, and even Renaissance, Latin poets. Indeed, Azevedo’s self-identification with Ovid is not as pronounced as was, for example, Laurent Lebrun’s, S.J. (1608–1663), when the young professor of rhetoric at La Flèche penned verse letters to the Old France from the New, celebrating

40 “Naufragium vobis tantum commune pepercit; / Sustinuit parvam dextra benigna ratem” (Azevedo, *Heroum*, 118).

41 “Gallorum in cymbis seu poma canistris / Angusto congesta situ per inhospita regna / Neptuni” (Azevedo, *Heroum*, 145–6).

42 See Jost Eickmeyer, *Die jesuitische Heroidenbrief: Zur Christianisierung und Kontextualisierung einer antiken Gattung in der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

Jesuit missionary triumphs over climatic rigors and human savagery.<sup>43</sup> Azevedo's *Epistolae ad heroas* are not ingenious literary exercises, nor propaganda from a distance, but a genuine attempt at "processing" the events and emotions of the suppression from within. The classical poets/models serve as tools with which the poet-priest thinks through, manages, redirects—if not sublimates—his emotions, as well as, importantly, those of his confrères. A point of difference with Ovid's letters is that consolation of confrères is, ostensibly, Azevedo's chief motive for writing. At the beginning of the fourth letter, "Leaving the friends with whom he had once lived in Portugal, after he travelled to visit them from Venice to Bologna" (1 October 1760), a poignant, extended reflection on the pain of separation from the friends with whom he has been briefly reunited, Azevedo alludes strikingly to Ovid's *Tristia* 1.3, where the Roman poet had recalled with anguish his final night in Rome: "When the sweetest image of that night occurs to me on which I was able to be with my confrères, when I recall that night on which I left so many things dear to me, a sweet pain strikes my wounded heart."<sup>44</sup> Yet Azevedo does not succumb to grief, but consoles himself with the knowledge that his confrères were previously separated from him by their joyful embrace of the missionary life, and that "one day we will all be joined in our heavenly fatherland; mutual love links us in an eternal bond."<sup>45</sup> Thus the tears of the self-pitying Ovid are, ultimately, overwritten by a celebration of the sweetness of friendship; and a knowledge that the Jesuits are united in a true (not profane) love that is unimpaired by physical distance.

There is no space here to document the play of light and dark throughout the collection, the varying of moods, and the blending of emotions—often within the space of a single poem. Suffice it to say that some of Azevedo's letters are addressed to individuals, others to groups; some are more personal and domestic in orientation, soliciting the health or company of the poet's closest

43 On this work, see Peter O'Brien, "La *Franciade* de Le Brun: poétique ovidienne de l'exil en Nouvelle-France," *Tangence* 99 (2012): 35–60, and O'Brien, "Si potes exemplo moveri, non propiore potes: Emotional Reciprocity in Le Brun's *Nova Gallia*," in *Changing Hearts: Performing Jesuit Emotions Between Europe, Asia and the Americas*, eds. Raphaële Garrod and Yasmin Haskell (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). Le Brun had also styled himself a Christian Virgil in his *Virgilius christianus* (Paris: Piget, 1661).

44 "Cum subit illius suavissima noctis, / Qua mihi cum sociis contigit esse meis; / Dum repeto noctem, qua tot mihi chara reliqui, / Saucia corda ferit dulcis amore dolor" (Azevedo, *Heroum*, 139–40). See Ovid, *Tristia* 1. 3. 1–4: "Cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago, / quae mihi supremum tempus in urbe fuit, / cum repeto noctem, qua tot mihi cara reliqui, / labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta meis".

45 "Una omnes patrio tandem jungemur olympto / Mutuus aeterno foedere junget amore" (Azevedo, *Heroum*, 140).



friends. In these, the Ovid of the love poetry sometimes competes with that of the exile, imparting an almost erotic intensity to the emotions of pious friendship. Another group of letters commemorates sites of Catholic—and especially Jesuit—cult, miracles, and festivals. In the very long penultimate letter, presented under the poet's Arcadian name of "Nicander Jasseus," Azevedo recounts the sorrows of the Blessed Virgin and exhorts himself to share in her endless suffering, to be unstinting in his tears. Yet it would be artificial to separate these, as it were, timeless devotional poems from the more mundane ones recounting and lamenting the Society's contemporary misfortunes.

The heroic poem on the sorrows of the Virgin opens with a nautical simile which, as mentioned above, is a favorite of our poet.<sup>46</sup> It cannot *but* be read, I think, as emblematic of the suppression. Azevedo compares Mary's turbulent emotions to a ship tossed at sea and it is hardly a stretch to see in the "son" for whom she grieves the Society of Jesus:

Like a ship shaken on a stormy sea when a wild sky is threatening and the turbulent air grows dark [...] not otherwise, afflicted Mother, you feel the cruel storms in your rent breast, tossed in a never-ending whirlpool of sorrows, while you grieve to see your sweet Son, your child, having suffered so many insults, with the nations seething, raging all around him.<sup>47</sup>

Azevedo's tears for Mary are sublimated tears for the sufferings of his brothers in exile. Again, they are paradoxically *sweet* tears, because the Passion of the Society is sanctioned by Providence and holds the promise of its future resurrection. In the third letter (1 October 1760), Azevedo had praised the youth of the Lusitanian Society for their "constancy and joy in undergoing trials," and he himself sheds *joyful* tears as he recalls their fortitude in leaving their families:

Even now as I turn over the individual events in my mind, tears erupt spontaneously from my eyes. Now I seem to hear the sweet kisses of the

46 The poem comprises 445 hexameter verses. The sublime opening perhaps owes something to the proem to the second book of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* ("Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis, / e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem," 1–2). If the allusion is intentional, Azevedo inverts the Lucretian call to free oneself of emotional pain.

47 "Fluctuat ut navis pelago concussa furenti, / Dum caelum minitatur atrox, & turbidus aer / Nigrescit [...]. Haud aliter lacero sentis in corde procellas / Crudeles, afflicta Parens, jactata dolorum / Vortice inexhausto, dum tot ludibria passum / Observare doles dulcem tua viscera Natum / Undantes inter populos, circumque frementes" (Azevedo, *Heroum*, 238).

mothers, the warnings of the fathers; now the brother, now the dear sister, all the many things that ingenious love dictates and mixes in, together with calculated weeping, amid the groans and sighs. Whoever there was joined by friendship or blood heaps up a thousand arts, a thousand wiles, in the attempt to wrest you from your firm resolve.<sup>48</sup>

In the fifth letter (1 December 1768), to the “adolescents of the Society of Jesus from the province of Santa Fe,” he sings their dangerous sea voyage from Corsica, their traversing of the Ligurian mountains on foot, their humiliating treatment in Bologna at the hands of Jesuit coadjutors, and so on, until they reach safe haven at Gubbio—a veritable *via crucis*. The implicit alignment of the history of the Society with the life and sufferings of Christ is, of course, distinctively Jesuit.<sup>49</sup> Azevedo exhorts his young heroes not to lose courage now, “because his nerve often fails who is at rest on the plain, he who was able to scale the peaks of mountains.”<sup>50</sup>

The final letter, though in elegiacs, rounds out the collection on a nostalgically heroic note. Dated 1 March 1785, it is addressed to Azevedo’s “sweetest friend, Andrés Camacho,” and describes the latter’s activities as a missionary in Ecuador, bringing the gospel, agriculture, and European technology to the tribes of the Pastaza river. In retrospect, the twenty-fourth poem, on the sorrows of the Virgin (also dated 1 March 1785), and the twenty-third (13 August 1785), on the feast of the Sacred Heart, demand to be read in the light of the fact that Camacho, shortly before the suppression, supervised the building of mission churches to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Muratas and Corazón de Jesús de Jíbaros. In Azevedo’s poetic report, this part of America is far from a prelapsarian paradise: water is so warm here it seems boiled and does not quench the thirst; meat killed in the morning is rotten by evening; big cats do

48 “Nunc etiam, dum facta animum per singula volvo, / Sponte oculis lacrymae erumpunt; jam dulcia Matrum / Oscula, jam videor monitus audire paternos, / Jam frater, jam chara soror, quae plurima dictat / Ingeniosus amor, fletu conjuncta doloso / Una inter gemitus, inter suspiria miscet. / Quisquis erat vel amicitia, vel sanguine junctus, / Mille artes mille dolos, si forte tenacem / Proposito valeat firmo divellere mentem, / Congerit [...]” (Azevedo, *Heroum*, 135).

49 One thinks, of course, of the magnificent emblem book produced for the Society’s first centenary, *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1640), which was organized into sections on its “birth” [*nascens*], “growth” [*crecens*], “labors” [*laborans*], “suffering” [*patiens*], and finally “honors” [*honorata*].

50 “Nam saepe in plano languenti deficit ausu, / Ardua qui novit superare cacumina montis” (Azevedo, *Heroum*, 147).

battle with crocodiles, men live in mortal fear of snakes as long as trees! And yet, it is worth noting that Azevedo emphasizes the homesickness of the American exiles, especially, throughout the collection. The eighth poem, in hexameters, is a “prophecy” for the brothers of the Mexican province, predicting their glorious return to their homeland, and in the meantime recreates and celebrates the wonders of the New World.

I conclude with a handful of letters that suggest that the writing and circulation of Latin verse may have been practiced by suppressed Jesuits more widely as a source of consolation. Not only does Azevedo record the relief he personally derived from writing poetry, but in several letters he invites his brothers to exercise their own Muse. And when in the fourteenth letter (1 August 1770) he assumes the voice of Stanisław Kostka, “student of the Society of Jesus,” and “sends greetings to his sweetest [fellow] students from the American provinces,” he is surely invoking an illustrious pedigree not just of Jesuit saints but also of Jesuit writers of *Heroides*.<sup>51</sup> The sixteenth letter (1 April 1769) constitutes a veritable potted *Ars poetica* for young Jesuits in exile.<sup>52</sup> It corrects the Latin verses sent to Azevedo by a group of aspiring young Jesuit poets in response to one of his previous letters (confirming, incidentally, that at least some of these poems were circulated before printing). It contains a rare moment of humor from the middle-aged poet: “When your songs called me a ‘venerable old man’ your pen was too quick in both descriptions!”<sup>53</sup> He indulgently excuses their lapses in Latin:

Nay, I am amazed that you have managed to sing when oppressed by such a torrent of troubles. Does the sailor tossed in the midst of the storm sing, or the wretch who is chased by a wolf through the forest? There will be a time when the Holy Power will give us happy leisure; an untrammelled, ingenious, peace makes poets.<sup>54</sup>

51 To cite but one example, the fifth poem of the third book of Jean Vincart, S.J.’s emblem book, *Sacrarum heroidum epistolae* (Tournai: Adrien Quinqué, 1640), is a letter from Stanisław Kostka to the Virgin.

52 Not to be confused with the collection, *Ars poetica* (1781), the reworking of his *Poeticae facultatis amphitheatrum* (Evora: Typographia Academiae, 1740). Though divorced from its original context, I suspect this Venice *Ars poetica* retains vestiges of its former pedagogical function—now both teaching Latin poetry and instilling appropriate Jesuit emotions in the context of the suppression.

53 “Dum venerande senex me carmina vestra vocarunt, / Penna nimis velox voce in utraque fuit!” (Azevedo, *Heroum*, 202); emphasis Azevedo’s.

54 “Quin potius miror pressos torrente malorum / Carmina turbato sic cecinisse animo. / An canet in mediis jactatus nauta procellis, / Aut miser in sylva quem lupus ore petit? /

With these lines it seems that Azevedo looks forward hopefully to the rebirth of the Society, and perhaps also to a rebirth of a vigorous and distinctive tradition of Jesuit poetic Latinity.

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Tempus erit cum laeta pium dabit otia Numen, / Pura quies vates ingeniosa facit" (Azevedo, *Heroum*, 238). As Steven Green points out in his commentary on *Fasti* I, 529 formulae of the type *tempus erit cum* are common in Ovid. See Steven Green, *Ovid, Fasti I: A Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 203.